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L E T T E R S

O F

*N E P T U N E, &c.*

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[ Price EIGHTEEN PENCE. ]



LETTERS

OF

NEPTUNE

AND

GRACCHUS,

Addressed to the

P\_\_\_\_\_ of W\_\_\_\_\_,

And other distinguished CHARACTERS ;

Now first collected from their original Publication in  
the MORNING POST.

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M,DCC,LXXXIV.

1784

AL 911. 1784. M54



## ADVERTISEMENT.

*THESE Letters, first printed in The Morning Post, are allowed by all who have perused them to be so eminent for their literary merit, that it would seem a reflection on the taste of the Nation, and the credit of the Press, if they were abandoned to that oblivion, to which every composition that appears only in a News-paper must unavoidably be consigned.*

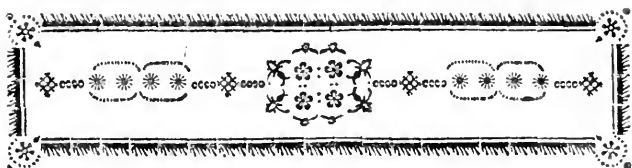
*Another reason has had its weight to induce the Publisher to collect them together; namely, the contempt which many persons have, or affect to have, for diurnal prints, though it is well known*

Po/x C. R. Johnson Feb 1988 #101.85

*known they have ushered into the world the works of the most brilliant Writers (particularly in the political line) for which this Country has been distinguished.*

*The Letters of JUNIUS need not be adverted to, which afford instruction as well as entertainment to this hour, though first detailed in a Morning Paper.*

*A comparison between the two productions is not intended; yet there is no doubt but the LETTERS of NEPTUNE have had the greatest share of public admiration, since those of that inimitable Writer.*



# LETTERS, &c.

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## LETTER I.

**W**HILE your irregularities were confined within the circle of juvenile indiscretion, and your conduct could be accounted for in the natural progress of the passions, your excesses, numerous as they have been, excited indeed our wonder, but never provoked our indignation.—We be-

B

held

held you emerge from the nursery, with even paternal affection ;—every heart was devoted to your interest ; and it was neither difficult, nor unworthy of you, to have preserved those prejudices which had been generously formed in your favour. The intemperance of your youth gave no offence ; and in the commencement of your career, it was never once suspected that we should have occasion to execrate the object whom we adored.

Such, Sir, were the advantages under which you entered into society ; and give me leave to inform you, that you must have been extremely indefatigable, to have effaced so effectually those favourable impressions, and to have changed the current of opinion

nion against you in so short a time. To your imprudent choice of friends may be attributed your present painful situation. It was your misfortune to select those for your companions, who, having neither fortune nor character to lose, were ready to conduct you into all the extravagancies of the meanest and most dangerous debaucheries. Their profligacy rendered them the willing pandars to your pleasures, while their poverty involved you in their profusion and necessities.

The Nation feels the consequences of these complicated evils, and beholds, with equal astonishment and indignation, a progress uncommonly rapid from bad to worse, and which must eventually terminate in serious

mischief to Yourself and your Country.

It must have been no less mortifying to your Royal Father, than disgraceful to yourself, that the first public act of your life was distinguished by an indecent opposition to the measures of his Government, and the constitutional rights of his Crown. It would be difficult to account for the motives of so decided and so extraordinary a conduct, if the party with whom you have condescended to associate, had not revealed the conditions of your contract with Mr. *Fox*. The engagements on your part have been executed with the most active and pointed fidelity—with a firmness which has triumphed over every obligation

gation of filial duty and respect, and rendered you as insensible to the general interests of your Fellow-citizens, as the Faction whom you patronise are destitute of every principle of honour.—I will pass over the moral turpitude of irritating a *Son* against a *Father*;—the infamy of the action will fall on the incendiary.

It is more the object of this Address to expose the fallacy of the *Right Honourable* Gentleman, than to reprehend or amend him. Long habits have rendered him incorrigible, and admonition becomes useless where there is neither shame nor sentiment to give it force.—He has *promised* “ TO PAY  
“ OFF YOUR DEBTS, AND INCREASE  
“ YOUR INCOME;” and for this *valuable*

*able consideration* you have been seduced to take a decided part against your Sovereign—to exert your influence against his prerogative—and to fly in the face of the whole kingdom.

Is it possible, Sir, that those who have had the important charge of your education, could have concealed from your knowledge the form and spirit of the Constitution?—Is it necessary to inform you, that before the CROMWELL of the Times can perform his promise, two events, not very likely to happen, must positively take place? He must be restored to power in the first instance—and, in the second, the Nation must consent to the increase of income, with which you have been flattered and deluded.

The



The public, Sir, are under no obligation to discharge those debts which your profusion has created ; nor is it very probable that, considering the deplorable state of their finances, they will be easily prevailed upon to enlarge an income already sufficient for all the purposes of your present establishment. These circumstances, perhaps, have been artfully concealed from you, as well as the impoverished state of the kingdom, which will not admit of wanton and unnecessary expenditures of the public money.

A war, ruinous in every respect, idly begun, and more idly conducted, has oppressed the people with innumerable taxes, and rendered them almost incapable of sustaining any additional burthens.

burthens. Yet the Author of this unfortunate and disgraceful war, whom you have every reason to execrate, is honoured with your confidence, and, destitute of pride and integrity, is content to act a servile and subordinate part to the Man who has repeatedly menaced him with impeachment and the block!

The calamities occasioned by the weak and corrupt administration of his Lordship, will terminate only with the empire; they will be felt to the latest period of our political existence. The millions squandered in obtaining majorities in both Houses of Parliament, will render a system of the strictest œconomy indispensable:—and these *truths*, too obvious to be unknown

known

known to you, should at least have taught you to restrain your extravagance. The plea of youth affords *you* no excuse. You stand in a different predicament from that of a private gentleman:—his person and property are answerable for the debts he contracts; bankruptcy and a prison terminate his career, and the *Nation* feels no inconvenience from his follies: but you, Sir, have *no property*; your annual income is an annual donation, which may be withdrawn or withheld; and whatever Mr. Fox, and his wretched dependants, may assert to the contrary, the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND will never submit to recompense those who injure and insult them.

But supposing, for a moment, that

C

this

this Gentleman was reinflated, and supported by a Parliament totally at his devotion,—what security have you for the performance of his promise?—Are you so little read in his history and character, as not to know that he has already sacrificed every engagement, even the most sacred, to his ambition; and that his object is to reduce you and your august family to be cyphers in the nation?—He calls himself THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE. At the next baptism he may, perhaps, assume the bolder name of PROTECTOR, and convince you of your error, by possessing himself of Carleton-House, and removing you to the Tower.—Happily, Sir, the nation has taken the alarm; and there is little danger either of his coming into power, or of his  
involving

involving his country in all the horrors of a civil war. If the latter, however, contrary to appearances, should happen, it will not be an improper question to ask yourself, What part you will be *permitted* to take in the contest?

After having said thus much, it only remains for me to apologise for the liberty which I have presumed to take; a liberty which loyalty to my Sovereign, and affection for my Country, have occasioned, and which the motives must justify.

NEPTUNE.

LET-



## LETTER II.

S I R,

**I**T is a maxim universally admitted, that the people should have but *one* opinion of their Sovereign ; and this maxim holds equally good, when applied to the Presumptive Heir to the Crown.—It would be an idle waste of time to explain to you what that opinion *ought* to be.—Those to whom your education has been confided, cannot possibly have permitted you to advance to maturity in utter ignorance of so important a truth.

Their

Their characters authorise us to believe, that every obligation on their part has been faithfully fulfilled; and we must attribute the failure on your's to the pernicious influence of a Man who has insinuated himself into your favour, in full confidence of obtaining a triumph over his Sovereign, and his Country. The impression of this idea would have afforded you an excuse for the errors into which you have been betrayed, if an obstinate adherence to the very principles of the Faction did not continue to stain every action of your life. It is impossible, Sir, that you can be unacquainted with the public opinion, on the part you have taken;—not, indeed, that it has been communicated to you by the MAN OF THE PEOPLE.—To suppose that *Gentleman*

*elman* capable of such an exertion of friendship, would be giving him credit for a virtue, to which, I am persuaded, he does not aspire.

No, Sir! you have learnt it in the well-founded, though intemperate resentment of the People, whose honest indignation, provoked by your complicated offences, forced them to violate the limits of respect and decency, and hurl their sentiments in your very face.

I know that you have been taught to despise the public opinion, and that the unremitting endeavours of your *little Pandemonium* have been exerted to inspire you with a contempt for popular applause.—Adopt the idea, and your future life will be miserable.

Be



Be assured, Sir, that Popularity is the best security for a Prince.—It is not so fluctuating as you have been told.—Private individuals have found it precarious, because it has been generously advanced to them on the credit of professions which they never intended to realise, and they have been sunk into obscurity on their impostures being discovered.—But this is justice, not caprice.—Professions of Patriotism are unnecessary, where the power exists of carrying them into immediate execution. Our opinion of *you* will ever be regulated by your conduct;—*deserve* well, and you will never have occasion to reproach the multitude with inconstancy, or a want of affection.

Unhappily

Unhappily, Sir, the bias of your education has given way to the influence of bad examples. To fall into the hands of pimps, gamblers, and prostitutes, is among the common accidents to which every young man is exposed on his entering into society, and may be easily corrected. But you, Sir, disdaining the progressive stages to dishonour, start from the nursery, into public life, the very prep and hero of Faction, and attach yourself to men of ruined fortunes and characters, who, under the sanction of your countenance, have attempted to annihilate, at once, the prerogative of the Crown, and the rights of their Fellow-citizens. You have, however, had the mortification to find, that the credit of your name could not avail them. They have been  
driven

driven from power with every mark of ignominy; and it is with equal indignation and concern we see you persevere in your attachment to Men, with whom it is impossible to be connected without partaking of their infamy. To war against experience, is to give defeat the preference to conquest, and to hold honour and happiness at defiance.

Believe me, Sir, the people are not to be awed by the splendor of your rank into an approbation of your errors, much less will they be disposed to support them; and you will do well to remember, that it is among the most common maxims of prudence, to avoid those contests in which *much* may be lost, and *nothing* can be gained.

D

If

If the various excesses into which you have plunged yourself, with a precipitancy unexampled in the annals of this country, have involved you in pecuniary difficulties, the means of extricating yourself are very far removed from the violence and indecency of an opposition to the measures of Government.—Restore the late Ministry to the trust which they have abused, and you will find yourself as distant from the performance of their *golden* promises; as you are at this instant, even supposing them ready to falsify their characters by keeping their word with you.

The India-House may, indeed, be removed from Leadenhall-street to Brookes's by their restoration, and the  
revenues

revenues of Indostan be transmitted to a Faro Bank. The young Colonel may also do a violence to his principles, and pay off some of his annuities; but you must be very little read in the history of mankind, if you can suppose that a solitary rupee will ever be permitted to stray towards Carleton-House.

I am very far from wishing you to be confined within the limits of a scanty and penurious income. I would have it fully equal to your exalted birth, and expectations; but in fixing your Establishment, an attention must be paid to the finances of the Nation. The former must ever depend upon the latter; and it may, perhaps, be matter of information to you, that every  
new

new tax, under our enormous load of debt, is an advance towards a REVOLUTION. This is a serious and an alarming truth, which should awaken you, Sir, to a sense of œconomy, for the sake of yourself and your family, should you have no regard for the Empire to which you have an hereditary claim. The spirit of enterprize belongs properly to the necessitous and ambitious; and under our accumulated distresses, it is necessary to exclude both these descriptions of men from every avenue to power, that the Country may be benefited by the short interval of Peace, and a prudent Administration.

The political relation which you have to the Constitution, gives the meanest of your fellow-citizens an interest

interest in your conduct. The fate of millions is involved in yours, and the danger to be apprehended from your alliance with a gang of ADVENTURERS, is sufficient to alarm even confidence itself. No wonder then if the people, anxious to avert the mischiefs with which they are threatened by the faction you support, should endeavour to shame you out of riot and bad company, and recall you to a sense of your dignity, to the consideration of those tenures by which the Imperial Diadem is held. You cannot be uninformed that the violation of them cost one Monarch his life, and another his CROWN ; but it is possible you may have forgotten that you are liable to the same penalties.

NEPTUNE.



## LETTER III.

S I R,

WHEN you imprudently embarked in the service of Opposition, it did not occur to you, perhaps, that it ought to be an invariable maxim with every branch of the Royal Family, to observe the strictest neutrality towards the various Factions which are perpetually contending for an ascendancy in the Government; and since your fatal and disgraceful alliance with Mr. Fox, it has been one of the principal objects of *that* Gentleman's



Gentleman's attention, to seduce you from the consideration of a truth, no less obvious than important, by plunging you into all the excesses of expensive riot and dissipation, as if it was his fixed determination that *your* ruin should precede *that* of the Empire.

Your dishonourable intimacy with the most profligate characters in the kingdom, has not only excited an alarm among all ranks of people at home, but become the common table-conversation of every *petit cabaret* in Europe, where you are censured more for your want of pride, than your want of prudence; and while Foreigners behold, with scorn and astonishment, the *Heir to the Crown of Great Britain* degrading himself below

low the level of even the meanest of his worthless companions, your Fellow-citizens lament, with the most affectionate concern, your obstinate attachment to Men who have long since forfeited every pretention to the confidence of their Country, and who have neither talents nor integrity equal to the employments which they audaciously demand.

A momentary reflection would be sufficient to awaken you to a sense of your situation ; but your associates, aware of the danger of leaving you to yourself, have artfully contrived to keep you in the vortex of dissipation, lest a lucid interval should restore you from the delirium of pleasure, to the exercise of your understanding.

They

They are conscious that they must perish, whenever you have the virtue to *resume* yourself; and they do well to keep you in profound ignorance of the dangers which surround you.

In the black catalogue of their aggravated guilt, the infamy of playing off the *Son* against the *Father*, is not the least criminal and ingenious. It is perfectly consistent with their principles, and favourable to their designs, to render the *former* a dupe to their artifices, and the *latter* a cypher in his dominions; but as millions are involved in your *fate*, it is impossible but the clamours of the multitude must force its way through the STURDY AND BEGGARLY PHALANX with which you have guarded Carleton-House, and compel

E

you

you to acknowledge a truth which filial duty, independant of every political obligation, ought to have suggested to you.

Recollect, Sir, the history of the two Men who would arrogate to themselves the first offices in the State ; and tremble for the consequences of your extraordinary partiality !

Recollect that one of them, in time of profound peace, excited a civil war in the distant Provinces, by reviving a claim which had been abandoned as impracticable eight years before. The Colonists, standing on the adamantine pillars of the Constitution, asserted that Taxation and Representation were inseparable ; a negative was founded  
from

from the shores of America, as from the voice of J O V E ; nor has the thunder of the British arms been able to cancel the irrevocable *fiat* of Truth and Justice. Fleets and armies were transported, at an enormous expence, to recover by *violence* what had been lost by *folly* ; but as the war was as ill conducted as it was wantonly begun, the events of the contest were,—the absolute loss of America ; a ruinous war with three of the first Maritime Powers in Europe ; a diminution of commerce, revenue, and dominion ; and an increase of taxes, which puzzles the ingenuity of finance to raise even sufficient to discharge the interest of the money voted for the support of Government.

Is it to this wretched Politician, who has deprived his Country of an extent of territory equal to the half of Europe, that you will give your confidence ?

Is this Blusterer in Politics, whose capacity and whose views extended no farther than the management of his Mercenaries, and who idly thought, that if he could triumph in Parliament, he could triumph every where else—is this great Luminary in Politics, whom we now see fallen from his sphere, and moving as one of the Satellites in the lesser circle of an inferior Planet, that once performed a subordinate course round his *bright orb*, to be again called forth into public life, that  
 he

he may complete the ruin which he began?

Is it this *great* Minister, degraded into a mean and servile dependence on the very man who menaced him with the BLOCK in the zenith of his power, for the complicated crimes of venality, treachery, and corruption, that is to work our salvation?—— Shame upon such folly!

Let us turn, and behold the immaculate accuser of his Lordship taking the lead in Government, in his turn, and making a voluntary surrender of the very little that his *great* predecessor had left us.—He disdained even the merit of contention; and, in order to preserve a perfect parallel in his  
moral

moral and political character, he would very generously have given away what did not belong to him.

Is it to *such* men, Sir, that you are so anxious to confide the safety of the Nation? Impossible! Were you to pronounce it in my presence, I should question the fidelity of my ears. Is it from a junction so unnatural, that the most valuable appendage of the British Empire is to be preserved from following the ruinous example of America? or can you seriously believe that a pie-bald Ministry, composed of odds and ends, and men of straw, can possibly restore this Country to her former splendor?

You



You may reckon to eternity, Sir; but all the cyphers in the Universe will not make an unit. America torn from us by the very root—Ireland on the eve of revolt, and Scotland beating the loud drum of discontent to the barren Orkneys, exhibit a very gloomy and humiliating prospect, while a Faction in the center of the kingdom, under the sanction of *your* authority, are indefatigably employed to bring their Sovereign and the measures of his Government into disrepute.

Are you to be informed at this period, that your very existence depends upon that of the Empire? Our acres will remain to us through every change that can possibly happen. We have only to transfer our allegiance ;

giance ; but a Revolution consigns you for ever to absolute BEGGARY and EXILE. In such a moment of calamity, you will not only find yourself without PROPERTY, but without FRIENDS ; and the vermine who bask in the sunshine of your favour, will be the first to abandon you to the rigors of your fate. Let us, however, hope, that an event so melancholy to the kingdom, and ruinous to yourself, will be prevented by a timely attention to the obligations which you owe to your Country, and your Family. Consider what you have at stake, and banish from your confidence and society, a set of Men, whose pernicious counsels, and profligate manners, have done equal injury to the power and the morals of the Nation.

I will

I will not, Sir, waste your time, or my own, in commenting on the despicable efforts of your Party, to foment the disturbances which unhappily prevail in Ireland.—Neither, Sir, will I enlarge on the merits of the present Administration: their claim to the public confidence, being founded on their talents and integrity, can neither be injured by *your* clamour, nor augmented by *my* panegyric.

N E P T U N E.

F



## L E T T E R. IV.

To Mr. *F*—.

S I R,

**T**HE weight of government being taken from your shoulders, it is to be hoped you are easy, if not delighted. You have no longer occasion to waste your midnight oil in solitary study and silent contemplation. Great Britain has found other friends to fight in her cause, and support her interests. You, Sir, the late aspiring Emperor of the Eastern World, may now enjoy more placid slumbers; and though your burning cheeks are not to be cooled

cooled by the spicy gales of Ceylon, nor your bed to be covered with oriental pearl, yet sweet peace inhabits the academic groves of Brookes's; there the grape shall bleed for you, and the companions of your lighter hours, or the mislaid tools of your party, shall calm your breast with admiration which you have never deserved, and talk of consequence which you can no longer feel.

But are you not ashamed, with that deceitful front, to amuse the people with the shew of virtue, while your heart is the slave of every vice? Where did you acquire those great, those sublime ideas of love of your Country, zeal for Liberty, detestation of Tyranny? Was it the soft embraces of your fair countrywomen that gave the former;  
 your

your unconstrained sacrifices to Bacchus, the second; or, in your religious researches, did you acquire the latter by reflections upon Pharoah?

Go forth, Deluder of the People; try your strength once more: if there are idiots still to be found, they perhaps may listen, and believe you. PITT is young, and, you presume to think, inexperienced; but he does not tremble—he is firm, and in that firmness alone can we look for safety. The nation has long suffered the lingering fever of destructive Faction; all Executive Government has been disjointed: the corrupt majority of the House of Commons has seemed to reign; but while it placed a crown of thorns on the Monarch's head, itself only swayed

a sceptre of reed. Your party have hitherto loudly exclaimed against corruption when out of power. The cry, indeed, has not produced reformation, but it has opened the eyes of every one; and the people will no more think themselves represented; you have forced them to look to a higher power for government and protection. But your influence, Mr. Fox, is at an end: when you mounted your Elephantic Brother, to lead your Coalition troops to triumph over the city of London, it was, in fact, the funeral procession of your political greatness. You gazed with eagerness on the Elysian fields of India; but forgot to consider the scourge of poverty, and the vicinity of disgrace. O may that disgrace, that poverty continue, and may  
just

just Providence cut off your secret resources of Play, as his wisdom has annihilated the schemes you had laid for overturning the Throne, and for the enslaving of your Country! Let us reflect a moment upon your political conduct; perhaps it can as ill bear it as your private character: When in power, ambition was apparently your God; when out, Patriotism was in your mouth, but the same ambition your guide. Your noisy eloquence, and imagined abilities, which have deceived your Party, have at last deceived yourself. But let us examine wherein these abilities have been shewn; in debauchery, in extravagance, in hypocrisy, in abuse, in meanness, in ill-disguised and ill-conducted ambition: they have at length received their reward



ward in part; beware lest the completion of the wishes of all honest men should not happen, before the completion of your own. I am half inclined to drop a tear in pity to your forlorn condition, did not indignation get the better of my humanity.

The approaching Parliament is the firm foil on which you build your hopes; there is to be the tournament where you are to tilt with the gallant *Pitt*; attended by many 'Squires you intend to attack the youth in white armour: but consider, your own is brittle and transparent: yet console yourself, though you should be defeated; the engaging A——d will bind your brows with laurel and with myrtle, amidst the contempt, the execrations of the multitude.

Review your forces, noble leader, number your troops—a goodly train: you seem Leonidas going forth against Xerxes: remember him, and be bold; for, amongst your Captains have you not the great *North*, the sublime, the beautiful *Burke*, the comic *Sheridan*? Is there not the eloquent *Erskine*? Have you not the loquacious *Powys*? What think you of Sir *Horace Mann*? He, to the most bewitching softness of manners, joins a love of freedom, and independency:—unfortunately, his oratorical abilities are apt to be confused, and generally in his speeches

His arguments directly tend  
Against the side he would defend.

But this is, perhaps, a proof of the ebullition of his genius. I could name  
another

another, who is himself an host ; but respect, loyalty, hope, forbid me ; respect for his high rank, loyalty for his August Family, and hope for his speedy desertion of your cause ; a cause from which he can derive no advantage, and which by adhering to, will spread the couch with thorns, whereon he must hereafter repose. I shall now, Sir, take my leave of you for a time ; trusting, however, to your steadiness and perseverance, to show the world how weak you are ; how strong, how well supported is Mr. PITT. He will soon disregard the roaring of your eloquence, as the bold sailor contemns the blustering of the winds : he will discover to the Nation how much your talents have been exaggerated ; and while

G

he

he talks of virtue, patriotism, and loyalty, give himself both the precept and example. Retire, then, from the public scene; demand the pity and support of the populace; be a second Belisarius in wretchedness, without his respectability. Be assured you are become contemptible to the People: they have discovered the flame that misled them to have been phosphorus, which shone brightly, indeed, amidst the darkness of opposition, but lost its lustre in the blaze of day.

GRACCHUS.

*May 5, 1784.*



## L E T T E R V.

To Mr. *P*—.

S I R,

**T**HE dignity and consequence of your present situation in this country, must be highly satisfactory to you; and so much the more, as it is certainly unparalleled. You find yourself at the head of a Ministry, who boldly and nobly united to save the wounded—the expiring Constitution. You enjoy the good opinion and esteem of a virtuous and patriotic King; you have the strength of the House of Commons on your side; the  
Peers

Peers are ready to support you ; while the People, long torn and distracted by faction and falsehood, now gaze upon you with the firm eyes of confidence, and admire and revere the valiant youth who has overthrown the desperate GOLIATH, that threatened them with perdition. You, Sir, are that valiant youth ; you stepped forth the DAVID of our hopes, when Fox, armed with the shield of imagined popularity, and brandishing the sword of ambition, led on his mad majority with gigantic fury, to seize the rich territories of India. A majority much more respectable is now eager in the cause of Liberty and the Constitution, while the few remaining friends of the MODERN CROMWELL can no longer view with delighted astonishment the  
brazen

brazen Coloffus they had wished to rear, the extent of whose stride was to have reached from the shores of Britain to the coasts of Coromandel; but, on the contrary, can scarcely help blushing when they think of the presumption of his schemes, which shew, in the strongest colours, the daring efforts of shameless anti-patriotism. These few friends also will soon desert him, as the body of the people have done already, and learn to despise, like *Caliban*, the insignificant god they had once adored. But, Sir, the present state of this country is such, that every moment may produce events: the minds of the people have been greatly fermented; that fermentation will not easily subside; and the torrent of popularity is in these times too rapid to be resisted:

resisted: though you are now sailing prosperously down the stream with a strong bark and a rich cargo, yet remember there is a dangerous rock, called *Parliamentary Reform*; I tremble lest you should strike upon it. In fact, that idea of reform is the ground on which you are to be attacked; but we have seen that you can be firm, and we trust you can be bold in this instance. You will not shun the combat: to be decisive will be to triumph; and if you have any reason to change your former sentiments upon this subject, the avowing it openly would reflect no disgrace on a man of any time of life; certainly not of yours. Your illustrious Father raised his country to a point of greatness that still flatters Britain to recollect, that is still awful for her enemies



mies to remember. You are our young PHOENIX, sprung from the ashes of the old. O may your flight be long and glorious! for, should your exertions unfortunately fail, and their effects be destroyed by the violence of faction, Great Britain *is sunk for ever!* You alone, under the present circumstances, can prevent her speedily descending to be a PROVINCE OF FRANCE, or her sons from being the SLAVES OF DESPOTISM. A proper force in the executive part of Government is necessary for the preservation of freedom; for when anarchy and discord become general, monarchy, absolute monarchy, is near at hand. It is a fact well known, that nothing in the political, nor in the natural world can return to its first state by

by a retrograde motion; every thing goes forward; and it is as impossible to bring back the constitution of England to its earlier state of purity and perfection, as to restore to *Fox* infancy, patriotism, or virtue. Since then the manners, the thoughts of men change daily; let us consider that every change in those points makes an alteration necessary in the conduct of their rulers. To be guided therefore by Parliamentary precedent is deceitful, useless, and ridiculous; to become a Parliamentary pedant, a consequence not unfrequently arising from a close application to business in the Senate, is equally to be dreaded.

Fortunately for England, you are neither;—the maxims of your conduct  
are

are drawn from a more extensive circle; you have early discovered, that it is the world at large can alone teach that true mode of government and policy, which, being founded upon just and unalterable principles, can never be weakened nor destroyed. It has heretofore been considered, and I believe proposed, to alter the representation, by transposing the Borough Members to be additional County Representatives. This plan seems specious enough in theory, but in practice would be fatally absurd. Have we not already a sufficiency of silent Members, who, proud of their independency, sleep through the sessions of Parliament without effort or industry, and who, conscious of having weight in their own Counties, torpify the Se-

H

nate

nate with demonstration of their heaviness? The Boroughs, on the contrary, are oftener represented by men of abilities: perhaps I am in this mistaken; but to me the reason seems obvious and indubitable. With regard to the idle plan of giving every man in the country a right to vote, I will only say, that it is a notion of folly and injustice, totally insufficient to produce other than the most pernicious effects. For these reasons, therefore, I am sure it will be difficult, and not feasible, in our present state of luxury and corruption, to have a more pure, uninfluenced, and fair Parliament than the present, to be serviceable towards the good of the country. May you long direct its resolves, till a new strength pervades every part of  
the

the kingdom, till our Finances are retrieved, our Commerce restored, our spirit and our supplies usefully employed, our glory and respectability greater than ever, and till extreme old-age may alone force you to retire! It is but too true, that you have a determined opposer in Fox; but a formidable one I can never think him, not even though reinforced by the united infamy of Lord N——: the former's abilities are discovered to be superficial; he can talk, but he cannot act. Every man of sense, unbiaſſed by party, knows him to be, *Vox et præterea nihil*; and though, as Cicero ſaid of Catiline, “ *Imo etiam in ſenatum*  
“ *venit, notat et designat oculis ad*  
“ *cædem unumquemque veſtrum;*” yet a contemptuous diſregard will, in the  
end,

end, subdue him; it will have a greater effect than the most laboured arguments, or the most eloquent replies. From the latter he will acquire ammunition to prolong the fight, as a General returns again the balls fired at him, to the destruction of the besieged.

I will only trouble you with a few words more, to observe that the factious spirit which has nearly destroyed Great Britain, will, without immediate care and vigour, for ever separate Ireland from this country. This, Sir, you well know: you have also made a business to discover the secret means employed to foment those disturbances; and are rightly informed where the cause exists, both at home  
and

and abroad. It remains only for you to act with spirit : the genius of the people of England is such, that courage is always adored by them ; and a measure seldom fails to meet their approbation, when executed with boldness. Convince then the politicians throughout Europe, that they are in an error when they conclude this country to be lost, or at least devoted to destruction. Shew them, while you have yet the moment in your power, that a young man of twenty-five years of age, when possessed of wisdom, firmness, virtue, and honour, can rescue a falling country from the grasp of domestic faction, and the artful encroachments of foreign machinations.

GRACCHUS.



## L E T T E R VI.

To the P—— of ——.

S I R,

**A** WAKE from your dream of pleasure, O P—— of ——! rouse yourself whilst the effort is yet possible, and burst forth, a resplendent Sun, through the lowering fog of juvenile indiscretion; revive the drooping hopes of your Royal Father's subjects; excell your predecessor, the facetious HAL, as much in the glory of a reformation, as you have already outdone him in the thoughtlessness of your con-



connexions, and the profusion of your errors. Alas! on every side we hear the murmur of discontent; and Patriotism gazes on you with the pensive eye of expressive anguish. Then reflect, great Sir! upon the consequences that will inevitably follow your present political attachments; they must, I fear, be fatal to your Country and to yourself. It is true, indeed, that the variety of E——ts, P——as, and F——ts, your midnight orgies, and wild extravagance, have called forth our astonishment; but it is your constancy to Fox that alone leads us to despair. Your private irregularities we shall chiefly feel from sympathy for the destruction of your health, and a consequent loss of happiness; but your public proceedings threaten a  
more

more serious punishment, a woe lasting and severe, that may extend for ages over generations of your Countrymen. Then be the reverse of the Roman Sylla; take up unexpectedly a more glorious empire than he resigned, the sovereignty over the hearts of Britons: so shall the avowed disapprobation that now pervades all ranks, be changed to joy and worship; so shall the silent sorrow that hangs on the regal brows, be turned to satisfaction the most triumphant, and tenderness unspeakable; while winds of ecstasy shall spread the happy tidings from the Frozen Ocean to the banks of the Ganges.

Just Heaven! what powerful Demon has robbed you of our love?  
The

The dignified station you hold was ever popular till now; and even at this moment, when the People profess the most unbounded contempt for your conduct, yet they cannot cease to feel an inviolable attachment to your person. And let me assure your R—— H———, that your entrance into life was expected with the ardour of hope, with far other sentiments than are now become general: we looked to enjoy a fair spring and a serene sky, but were suddenly overtaken with the dark gloom of an untimely tempest.

Must we then seek in vain for that liberality of mind, and those rich qualities which should naturally attend you, and which seem to be your hereditary right? They might help to  
 I palliate

palliate the unworthiness of your pursuits. Yes, whatever is great and arduous, you have learnt to disregard; and though you can be well satisfied, like Ulysses, to loiter in the island of Calypso, yet you would reluctantly undertake the guidance of Councils, or the fatigues of war.

It has been said, and I fear by some of your intimates (I will not call them friends) with a treachery unparalleled, that a narrow selfishness is the motive of all your actions, that the gratification of the moment is the sole purpose of your existence. Yet it remains with you to counteract the malice of such assertions: let your mind only correspond with the comeliness of your person, and the nobleness of your countenance;  
be

be but half as active to acquire esteem, as you have been to lose it; and you will rise to a height of splendour as incomparable as uncommon.

But let us examine in what hitherto your activity has been shewn, what have been your Herculean labours. The enquiry is too odious: they would better suit Sylenus, or a Satyr. The History of your OWN TIME, if comprised in a volume, would perhaps be curious; but the recitals it would contain, instead of tinging your cheeks with the glow of vanity, ought rather to crimson it with shame, and cover you with confusion. Can a —— of —— place the point of excellence in such mean endeavours? Debauchery and dissipation distinguish only in proportion

portion as they consign to censure. Let even that idea check your progress towards imperfection; a progress which has hitherto increased, with the rapidity of a Comet in its approach to the Sun.

If, Sir, your pursuit of women (the most meritorious occupation of your life) had been marked with sentiment or affection in any instance, we might probably in some degree have approved your conduct: had you never boasted when you failed, the world would have less condemned you when successful; but, though you can only talk of conquests, there are others who mention defeats.

Think then, Sir, what your Country feels at present, bleeding with the  
wounds

wounds of a late war, labouring under deranged Finances and an exhausted Treasury ; to have the additional horror of observing that her elder hope, the flower of succession, is insensible to her sufferings, and supports the most desperate Faction that ever menaced the destruction of her Liberty ! Once more therefore let me conjure you, for your own sake and the sake of Britain, to quit the fatal road in which you have already too long wandered ; it is surrounded by alarming precipices : and can you, whose education has been truly respectable, give us so bad a proof of your understanding, as to imagine that by supporting that Arch-Hypocrite *F—*, you assist a friend, whose gratitude in public life would equal his professions in private ? Indulge not the supposition ;

supposition; be not so misled: for, should you mount the Throne to-morrow (which may gracious Heaven forbid these many years!) you would be made subservient to his all-grasping schemes; and, from having been the tool of his Party, you would become the instrument of his ambition. You might indeed be permitted to parade through the streets of London, adorned with the glittering ensigns of Royalty; but, like captive John of France, you would have a BLACK PRINCE near you, with insulting humility to disappoint your wishes, and to controul your power.

I will here take notice, that perhaps the unfortunate cause of your mistakes in life, may be deduced from that false  
fashion



fashion which at this time reigns with unbounded despotism, and is indeed peculiar to England. Refinement of mind and manners is here supposed to exist in a kind of capricious indifference, a cold insolence, an extensive contempt of sentiment, and a shameless affectation of vice. We have seen persons of low origin and mean talents, without virtue or fortune, merely by adopting this system, enjoy to the utmost the *glorious* privilege of permitted rudeness, become the arbitrary directors of Taste, and even obtain the exertion of power; while men of birth and abilities, because modest and unassuming, have been neglected and despised. But your R—— H—— has thought proper to imitate the former, at least in respect to morals; and it  
must

must be owned you have done it with an exactness that reflects more honour upon the preciseness of your observation, than upon the maturity of your judgment. Yes, Sir, while you should have given a mode of respectability to the manners of your Country, you chuse to be a copy of the most despicable originals.

Let me employ one moment more to observe, that the intimacy you have formed with high personages of a neighbouring Kingdom has given an alarm, perhaps not unreasonable; for be it known to you, that the French are a perfidious Nation, active to procure evil to this Country. They may now probably think to have found an instance where the acknowledged profligacy

fligacy of the D—— de C—— may be turned to some account.

I have only to add, that, though these imperfect sentences may appear to breathe a spirit of reproof unpleasing to your R—— H-----, yet the heart of the writer is most devotedly yours; no hireling scribbler, nor slave of any Party, but attached, by the most determined loyalty and affection, to your august Family: he only breaks through the silent respect, professed in a former letter, from the conviction of the necessity for so doing, and an ardent interest in your glory, happiness, and prosperity.

G R A C C H U S.

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*Preparing for the Press,*  
A N A N S W E R  
T O  
*NEPTUNE'S LETTERS.*

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